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20 July 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 July 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PRAVDA REP SEES OLSZOWSKI--On 25 June S. Olszowski, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, met with B. Averchenko, member of the editorial board and director of the Socialist Countries Department of the organ of the CPSU Central Committee PRAVDA, who is visiting Poland in connection with observances of TRYBUNA LUDU Days. The meeting was also attended by W. Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, and O. Lesoto, PRAVDA's permanent correspondent in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 84 p 4]

CSO: 2600/1049

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW FUEL STORAGE CONTAINERS FOR MILITARY AIRCRAFT

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1984 (signed to press 9 Mar 84)  
pp 134-135

[Article by G. Pichl, engineer: "New Tanking Facilities for Aircraft"]

[Text] The requirements for ensuring a supply of aviation fuels (hereafter AF [FTK]) for combat aircraft have increased significantly with the rapid technical development of the aircraft themselves. During the refuelling process the requirements can be characterized as: dispensing large amounts of AF to each aircraft, refuelling in the shortest possible time and AF quality requirements.

The development of the technical means to supply AF went in two directions: one was the creation of airfield tanker trucks, the other was stationary refuelling installations, located above or below ground.

The general assessment is that tanker trucks largely satisfy tactical requirements and they can be assigned flexibly according to the specific supply task. However, they are technically more complex and therefore require higher economic expenditures than a stationary installation, to supply a squadron for example. Also, the use of tanker trucks presupposes the existence of certain stationary facilities (fuel depots). Once completed, stationary installations cannot adapt to changes in conditions at short notice and they are more vulnerable (the entire installation can be knocked out). On the other hand, the quality requirements for AF can be maintained more easily and the costs of operation and maintenance are lower.

The most salient characteristics of the portable refuelling station TBA (PRS) 75 W (hereafter simply PRS) place it between the two lines of development. The PRS, which will be described in greater detail, is based on the following design:

--The station should be on a par with stationary refuelling installations in its refuelling parameters and technology.

--It should be capable of universal operation. This requires breaking it down into subassemblies which are relatively autonomous from the point of view of their function. In doing this, it is essential to guarantee that the sub-

assemblies and important individual components can also be used together with dissimilar installations and/or parts of installations.

--Operation must be fully automatic. In the event of a breakdown, all the functions must be capable of being manually controlled, and it must be possible to ensure refuelling operations by splicing in components from other installations (pumps, and so on).

--Guaranteeing AF quality by optimal fine filtration and water separation, continuous monitoring of the dirt level and automatic shutdown of the refuelling process if preselected limits for contamination are exceeded.

#### 1. Technical Data and Description of the Station

The PRS consists of the intermediate fuel storage unit (8 fuel containers, 1 mobile fine filter), the PPS portable pumping station (1 PPS in a 20-foot container, 1 Turbolekt 333), the Z 600 refuelling station (12 fuel fillers, 4 hydraulic pressure storage batteries) and the lines (line sections and fittings). Table 1 contains the technical data for the PRS 75 W.

Table 1. Tactical-Technical Data for the PRS 75 W Portable Refuelling Station

Station output capacity	3,000 dm <sup>3</sup> /min
Refuelling capacity for each fuel filler	
Pressurized refuelling	600 dm <sup>3</sup> /min
Free-fall refuelling	300 dm <sup>3</sup> /min
Refuelling using both systems simultaneously	650 dm <sup>3</sup> /min
Operating pressures	
Product pump outlet	1.0 MPa + 5 percent - 10 percent
Z 600 fuel filler outlet	0.45 MPa + 5 percent - 10 percent
Pressure refuelling section outlet	0.35 MPa + 10 percent
Fine filtration and water separation characteristics	
Primary filter	Filter/water separator in the PPS, 1 m cartridge with 99.5-percent filter efficiency
Secondary filter	Fine filter in the Z 600, 3 m cartridge with 90-percent filter efficiency
Permissible dirt level	1 mg/dm <sup>3</sup> solid contaminants, 15 ppm free water

Adjustable limits (for blockage) at the fuel monitoring equipment	0.1 ... 5 mg/dm <sup>3</sup> solids 0.02 ... 2 ppm free water
Metering of deicing agents in the Z 600	
Metering stages	0 percent by volume 0.1 percent by volume 0.2 percent by volume 0.3 percent by volume
Permissible metering error	+ 30 ... - 10 percent, as a percentage of the deicing agent
Intermediate storage tank	
Storage capacity	160 m <sup>3</sup>
Filling pressure	1.0 MPa
Output capacity when filling and emptying (based on 1 fuel container)	1,000 dm <sup>3</sup> /min
Capacity of 1 container	20 m <sup>3</sup>
Maximum power requirement	105 kW

The intermediate fuel storage unit comes into operation when no stationary containers are available in the PRS's deployment area. The fuel containers are connected up with sections of RT 150 pipe in such a way that each fuel container is filled individually through one filler pipe, but emptying can always be carried out in groups of four (because of the average suction levels required).

The fuel containers can be used both in stationary operation in the PRS and as portable containers for flammable fluids. In this respect they conform to national and international regulations and recommendations.

The fuel container consists of a supporting frame and a horizontal, cylindrical tank with the technological and safety equipment. The pipe for filling and emptying can be closed off at two places. Automatic overflow prevention necessarily operates during filling. The tank breathes through manually disengageable high-pressure/vacuum valves, flashback and explosion prevention devices and dust filters (to prevent atmospheric dust from being carried into the fuel). In the event of damage, an additional safety valve prevents any improper increase in pressure in the tank. Fuel level in the tank can be checked by means of a reflex level indicator

The portable pumping station PPS is located after the intermediate fuel storage in the direction of flow of the AF. The functions of the PPS and the components to perform them are:

--transferring the AF from the intermediate storage unit to the fuel fillers--  
two rotary pumps in parallel,

- separation of solid contaminants, free water and undissolved air from the AF
- two filter/water separators connected below the pumps,
- measuring the total volume of flow, two rotating piston counters,
- continuous monitoring of the dirt level in the AF (solids and free water)--
- fuel monitoring equipment FME [KUeG] 83,
- automatic control of the installation.

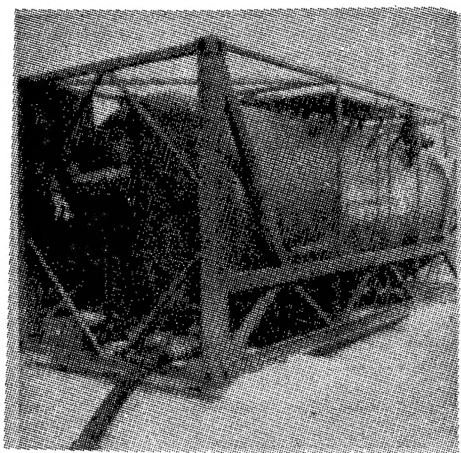


Fig. 1 Fuel container KC 20

All the elements of the PPS are housed in a 20-foot container. This makes transporting it uncomplicated. During deployment, after the container has been set down, only the connections to the rest of the installation have to be completed by means of quick-disconnect hoses and to the electric generator or the existing overland grid with a flexible cable. The filter/water separators consist of elements with two-stage filter cartridges and fittings. They operate on the fluid-fluid phase separation principle and utilize the different surface tensions of fuel and water. They can separate the free, emulsified water present in the AF with great efficiency. As the fuel flows through the first stage (coalescence stage), the solid contaminants are trapped in the filtering medium and the emulsion is broken down by deemulsifying and coalescing agents. The water drops that form drop to the bottom into a water collector.

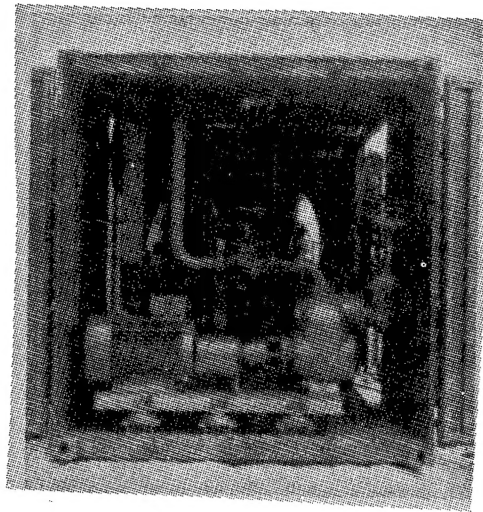


Fig. 2 Portable pumping station showing the mechanical part, with a KRZ 1 Hj 100/270-06 pump in the foreground

The second stage (separator stage) is impermeable to water drops and prevents individual drops from being carried along by the fuel. Although the filter/water separators are extremely reliable, their operation is constantly checked by the fuel monitoring equipment down the line.

In the event that a filter/water separator becomes inoperable, following damage for example, and the contamination of the AF reaches unacceptable levels, the installation immediately shuts down. The level of safety is substantially higher compared with the installations employed previously, in which the degree of contamination could only be examined intermittently, too inaccurately or with too great an expenditure of time.

After simply reconnecting it, the fuel monitoring equipment can also be used to provide a continuous reading of the dirt level ahead of the filter/water separator. This supplies accurate information about the progression over time of the buildup of contaminants, which is of particular interest during the daily operation of the station. If necessary, registration or indicator devices can be attached to the fuel monitoring equipment for later evaluation and remote monitoring.

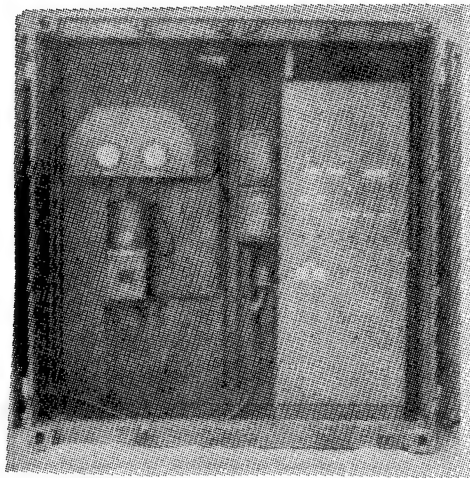


Fig. 3 Portable pumping station showing the electronic section, on the right a BMSR cabinet containing all the control elements, at the lower left below the contact pressure gauges the fuel monitoring equipment

From the PPS, the AF is pumped through two NW 150 lines connected in parallel to the Z 600 refuelling station. The AF is delivered to the aircraft through the fuel fillers of the Z 600, which can be up to 12 in number. The flow schematic inside a filler includes: shutoff valve in the inlet, fine-screen filter for secondary separation of solids, flow meter, 0.45 MPa pressure regulator, reciprocating pump for deicing agent feed (the power to drive it is taken from the flowing fuel), parallel outlets (hose drum, NW 50 hose, pressure refuelling section with 0.35 MPa terminal pressure regulator or hose drum, NW 38 hose and filler nozzle).

The fuel filler unit is of frame construction, covered with sheet metal, and it can also be deployed on pre-takeoff lines because its maximum height is only 900 mm. It can be used in conjunction with a variety of refuelling installations, if initial pressure is in the range between 1.0 to about 0.5 MPa. The filler does not require an external source of power.

The location of the deicing agent metering immediately ahead of the delivery equipment is extremely advantageous, because it permits flexible adaptation to the specific refuelling assignment and sparing use of the deicing agent. The method of metering ahead of the filter/water separator, which can still be encountered, has a negative effect on water separation.

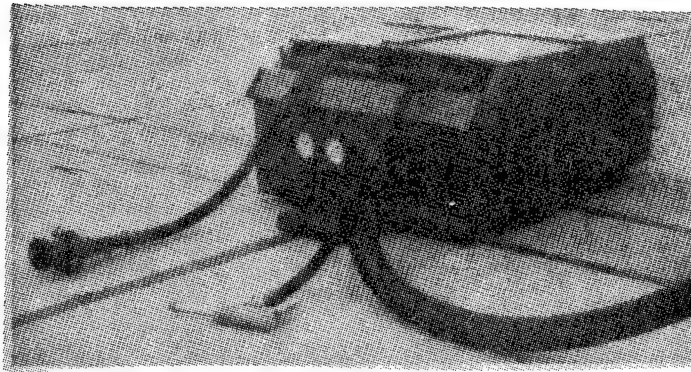


Fig. 4 Z 600 fuel filler ready for operation, refuelling hoses partially unreeled from the drum

The purpose of using highly complex two-stage pressure regulation is to prevent excess pressure in the aircraft's fuel system with complete safety and at the same time to provide a high rate of delivery. As a result of the action of quick-closing valves in the system, hydraulic surges can occur, creating peak pressures which are several times higher than normal operating pressure. For this reason, several hydraulic pressure storage containers are located around the fuelling station to reduce the pressure surges to acceptable levels.

The lines connect the individual parts of the station. When the station is first put into operation, following repairs and prior to daily use, the pipes can be connected in a ring, during refuelling operations as a twin-pipe system between the PPS and the refuelling station.

While the pipes are connecting in a ring, the AF is circulated and the individual elements are quickly cleaned (separation of solid contaminants and free water in the filter/water separators located in the ring). This rinsing process at the time of starting up daily operations is important, because substantial amounts of free water can collect as the AF cools. About 0.7 liter of water is released in a 750-meter long pipe as the fuel cools from +25°C to 0°C.

If the minimum cross-sectional areas are maintained, the pipes can be replaced with non-facility pipes. The potential for annular flushing should be preserved.



## 2. Concluding Remarks

The experience gained from operation that is presented here confirms the station's performance, both with respect to the amount of fuel pumped, refueling times, the requisite purity of the AF and the range of its operation.

Fully automatic operation of the PRS by means of pressure and volume-flow sensors satisfies the conditions encountered in field operation of intermittent delivery of AF from the fuel fillers and relieves service personnel to a large extent. Further thought will be necessary as to how the potential of the PRS can be fully utilized in field operations to maintain AF supplies.

9581

CSO: 2300/516

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

STUDENTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE--Nine hundred girls and boys from Mozambique have felt at home in Strassfurt for quite some time now. On the basis of an official agreement between the GDR and Mozambique, the students are living and studying at the School of Friendship in the city on the plains, where they will learn skills for technical jobs. [Excerpt] [East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 3 Jul 84 p 3]

HOMES FOR ORPHANS DESCRIBED--Today there are 490 homes for youth assistance that accommodate approximately 31,000 children and adolescents. About 8,300 instructors and 7,500 workers and technical employees provide a home for these children and young people. [Excerpt] [East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 14 Jun 84 p 3]

CSO: 2300/558

# LACK OF COMMUNITY GROUPS BEMOANED

Budapest MUNKÁ in Hungarian May 84 pp 20-21

[Interview with Gyula Fekete: "There Is No Lost Audience"]

[Text] "I should like to ask whether you indeed know...the artist? Because we have heard it here..." echoed the question from the back rows of the auditorium hardly a third full. But the awkward indifference, already having spread for several long minutes, does not dissolve even at that, and the sounds of the brief, unequivocal response are again replaced by the clearing of throats and the nervous squeaks of worn-out chairs in the culture house. Consequently, after the "final words" when it is time to sign the brigade diaries (almost as many as there are people present), someone in the rows comments to his neighbor, perhaps even louder than intended: "if I only knew why it is always we who have to attend!"

It is not important where it happened because the majority of the meetings between author and readers takes place according to a similar script these days.

[Question] Is it so because of the poor organization? How could this form of art be made more popular?--I ask Gyula Fekete, three-times the Attila Jozsef prize winning author, deputy president of the Association of Hungarian Writers, who, during the past decades, has met more than a thousand times with the readers all over the country.

[Answer] The success of the meeting is determined by three basic elements: the public, the writer and the organization. In our country, the latter is designed to "stir up" the movement of meetings between writer and readers. We talk about good and bad organization although this in its totality is merely a mode of expression. Of course, much can depend on it because it is not immaterial how many are gathered in the club room of the library or of the culture house. But it would be more correct to survey the popularity or failures of the meeting from the standpoint of audience demand and the function they fulfill. Viewing it this way, the causes are already forming wider rings. Incidentally, it is against those who over-stress organization that, in the home-region of an author, where he was born, raised and is known, the rows are filled at even the slightest "advertising."

[Question] Before discussing the truly far-ranging causes, it would be useful to clarify the literary form characteristics of the writer-reader meetings.

[Answer] First I should dispel a misconception. At the meetings, it is not of decisive importance whether they have read the works of the given author. The conception is false which holds it important that those participate who already are thoroughly acquainted with the books by the author and the direct meeting "enhances" their knowledge of the works or aids in the correct interpretation. It is never the esthetic or literary questions which dominate, the readers are always more interested in the projection of the facts of the matter. Did he live, did it happen, was it that way?—they ask sometimes in connection with the writings, and later the discussion digresses even further. Mostly toward general things of man which engage everyone, even the "illiterate."

[Question] But this no longer takes for granted merely the author's talents in the strict sense...

[Answer] This is true. One must establish contact with the audience, this does not require literary talent, indeed many don't succeed. Although it is very important. The atmosphere of the room must also be gauged, how homogeneous the audience is. If I see that there also are little ones, I start with nursery rhymes, if older people are sitting in the audience, I tell an aphorism. Nevertheless the situation is awfully uncertain. When I "call upon them to speak" no one knows yet what will happen. If a violinist, humorist or foreign policy expert stands in my place, the audience knows what to expect. On the other hand, there is no characteristic literary production, this is kind of an exercise in free association. They can ask anything but everything must be answered because true contact can only develop in this manner. And the characteristics of the art form present themselves in the fact that it can provide something different from and more than the radio, television or book. It not only offers something for consumption but also accommodates opinions and reacts to them. It also stems from the characteristics of the art form that a successful meeting mostly presupposes immense practice on the part of the writer, and this is often lacking in the beginners.

[Question] Everything depends on the author and nothing on the public?

[Answer] In my opinion, there is no such thing as a lost audience. We have something to say to everyone, and the bridge can and must be found toward everyone. I failed to succeed only once. It was about 15 years ago that I got a call from AFOSZ [General Consumers' and Producers' Marketing Co-operative Enterprise] in Nagyatad to go down there because an espresso shop is being opened in Haromfa. Entering, I was met by a singing group. As it turned out, they scheduled the Katalin ball on the same day. I sat down among them but, by the time we found the common topic, a new group arrived, a bit tipsy, too. Then new ones again, and I alone was not enough for all that. But here, drinks were the culprit. In connection with the audience, I should like to refer again to organization. The fact is that, these days

much criticism is levelled at the "pushy" cultural workers from the side of the audience "herded together" with the help of the brigade movement. But in seeking the cause of the problems, criticism of the organization cannot be the guideline, because, it does, nevertheless, create a kind of possibility, a meeting with the audience, it provides the chance for conquest. The rest is mostly up to the author.

[Question] We are back now at the basic question. How could the meetings be made more popular?

[Answer] New kinds of community types would be needed and this is no longer merely a matter of author-reader meetings. We can also recall innumerable small-community types from the past. In farmers' circles and tradesmen's circles, people with a common occupation and living with similar problems have gotten used to getting together regularly, discussing every problem in their lives and expressing their opinion on everything. Even in the 1940's, there were such communities on the larger settlements; moreover, the people's college movement was also established which gathered youths coming from the same place and fighting for the common goals. A while later, NEKOSZ [National Association of People's Colleges] was abolished. The movement-communities were increasingly built on an organizational framework and central guidance and, at that time, they were quite averse to small groups which have produced undisguised opinions; and those were more resistant to manipulation. Neither were they reestablished since then, even though they would be needed at every settlement. I am not thinking of literary-friendship circles, but of circles whose members would get together regularly and, after their debates, would take a stand on public matters; they would jointly evaluate social phenomena. They could invite experts to their afternoon debates if they would feel puzzled about a problem. When literature happens to be the topic, they could invite an author who would also discuss other topics with them, of course. That would be a truly optimal author-reader meeting and the art form could become more complete.

[Question] It is referred to by many people that small communities suitable for today's age already exist. They cite as example the group of youths frequenting the same disco.

[Answer] Entertainment alone is never a community-fostering force. The true group collective always represents a productive and not a consumer character. In an active, debating small community, the opinions and thoughts are polished through their constant collision, and the members of the group are held together by the force of the spirit, of the continually renewed "spark." They can enrich themselves with new feelings and thoughts. The concept of becoming cultured by itself presupposes a value-producing, productive character. In the course of entertainment, which produces "pleasures" at the most, new values are not formed. Another difference is that many kinds of other things are needed to form a true community. The most important thing is to have a "spark maker." Someone who thinks at the community level, above his own self. He is able and willing to keep the people together. Furthermore, the meetings must have a definite purpose but

this is often merely an excuse to make the meeting seem natural. For instance, in Egerag near Pecs, in the past few years a village day has been held every Thursday evening in the new culture house which was built jointly as a social labor. Getting together regularly, like in their own home, the people discuss everything, play cards, the young ones even dance sometimes. The village is together. Well, this village day is also a kind of excuse which--supporting the assertion of the need for company--proves to be stronger than--say--television. Such organization of an excuse is more important than anything else today, to allow the building of nests for thought.

[Question] Where is there a chance to develop these "nesting places?"

[Answer] There are old, unused houses and ruined buildings standing in many places. Their renewal, rebuilding them through a joint effort into culture houses can also be a community-building force. An interested nucleus can also form around the existing libraries if the culture worker or librarian fulfills his spark-producing role. One can also advance from the level of a current author-reader meeting. I usually recommend meetings at two levels. After the introductory discussion I sign books, and after that only those remain who feel a necessity on the basis of the brief time together. I already participated in a five-step meeting in the miners' vacation home in Siofok. In this manner, a solid nucleus can crystallize around every library which will subsequently attract its surroundings and will swell in numbers.

[Question] There was no mention made as yet what it means for an author to meet with the public?

[Answer] The author gets feedback from the reader, what kind of problems the reader has, what questions he is seeking the answer for. Of course, this often is revealed through veiled questions and receiving the "signs" requires close attention. But close attention must be paid if someone doesn't write merely for the critics.

2473

CSO: 2500/392

POLAND

## SOLDIERS CITE REASONS FOR JOINING PARTY

AU190701 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Captain Adam Skowronski: "Young People in the Party--Where Quantity and Quality Counts"]

[Excerpts] The National Conference of PZPR Delegates closed the halfway stage of implementing the resolutions and decisions of the ninth extraordinary congress. The recent period of time has confirmed the correctness of these decisions by means of an increase in the party's role and rank, expressed, among other ways, by an increasing number of new candidates for PZPR membership.

There are many of these candidates inside military units, especially since the national conference. Many were encouraged to join by the progressing stabilization in the country. But does quantity always go hand in hand with quality?

Eighteen soldiers have recently joined the party in military units attached to highways and railroads.

It Is Not Only Declarations That Matter, But Attitudes As Well

The above view was expressed by Captain Marian Zielonka when he assessed the attitudes of all those willing to join the ranks of the PZPR.

"We have convinced ourselves during the most difficult period for us," he said, "that not everyone who declares his support for socialism and Marxism-Leninism remains this way. That is why when we interview and observe party candidates, we analyze not only their words, but above all their attitudes as evident in their service and social activity. In this sense, the period between the ninth conference and the national PZPR conference was easier for us. At that time there was a natural selection of PZPR members and candidate members. Those who joined at that time could not expect applause or an easier life as a result of their membership.

"Now the situation is easier and we are emerging from the crisis. Attitudes toward the party and toward PZPR members has changed in many communities, and we in turn must sharpen our selection criteria in order to prevent quantity from dominating quality once again inside the party ranks."

And what are the new candidates like? Why have they become PZPR candidates?

#### Their Decisions Were Influenced by...Solidarity

Although the above statement sounds paradoxical, it is true. The persons I interviewed were at the center of memorable events in the middle of the 80's. Working in large industrial centers, in Lodz, Poznan, Radom, Stalowa Wola, or Zyrardow, they came into contact not only with workers protests, but also with the activities of Solidarity. Observing and comparing these activities turned out to be to the PZPR's advantage, hence the above decision. Here are a few statements by soldiers. Private Witold Zelichowski speaks.

"It is chiefly the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the consistent observance of the socialist renewal line inside the party which made me join the PZPR. Observing what was happening outside my front door, in other words at the 'Stalowa Wola' power plant where I was working, also greatly influenced my decision. I am not at all biased in my judgments, because I was even a Solidarity supporter for a while, but I changed my mind while pondering the purpose of barricading streets in Warsaw. The strikes and other events in Radom and in the Olivia Hall in Gdansk finally tipped the scales."

"I observed what was happening during the crisis," adds Private Slawomir Sobieraj. "I saw that both sides were making mistakes, but I began to notice more and more that Solidarity's demands were demagogical and too short sighted. What was happening inside plants during the strikes plus the commonsense of many PZPR activists have made me a PZPR candidate member today."

Senior Private Waldemar Kosinski was in a different situation. "I was working in the GDR at the time," he says. "I found out about the strikes, martial law, and economic situation from the press and from friends. During my trips home, however, I realized that the country's situation was beginning to improve under martial law and that it was not as bad as our opponents' propaganda was making out. The main influence on my decision, however, was the fact that the situation was now much better than before and that it was the party that was behind this improvement, not Solidarity. One can have confidence in such a social force."

The above persons say that although almost everything is changing for the better, it is not doing so without activity by people. That is why we have joined the party--in order to have greater influence over the above changes which are essential for our society and which will extricate our country from the crisis. This is and will be our task, for it can never be so good that it cannot be even better. This we have also learned in the army.

CSO: 2600/1042



## BRIEFS

KUBIAK SEES 'CEPELIA' REPS--Problems associated with culture building activities of the "Cepelia" cooperative movement in the realms of manufacturing and the propagation of culture and the arts were the topics of a meeting held in Warsaw on 26 June between Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Culture Commission of the PZPR Central Committee, with representatives of the Central Association of Folk and Artistic Handicrafts Cooperatives "Cepelia."  
[Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jun 84 p 2]

PZPR BRIEFING ON CEMA SUMMIT--On 25 June Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee, met with party lecturers working for the Central Committee and the voivodship party committees. The meeting was called to discuss the economic summit conference of the CEMA countries. In his report Kazimierz Barcikowski reviewed the key decisions made at the conference and answered numerous questions. The assembled lecturers were especially interested in issues pertaining to the international significance of the Moscow conference and the impact of its decisions and rulings on efforts to resolve problems affecting Poland's economic development both within the context of raw materials procurement and also within the context of production specialization and technological progress. During the first half of July similar meetings will be arranged for the political and economic aktiv in all of the voivodships. The meeting was chaired by Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 84 p 4]

CSO: 2600/1051

## BRIEFS

BRAILA OFFICIAL--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Valeriu Stoiu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Braila County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 42, 25 May 84 p 2]

PERSONNEL CHANGE IN COUNCIL--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Galetanu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Council for Socialist Culture and Education. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 43, 28 May 84 p 4]

APPOINTMENT, RELEASE OF OFFICIALS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ionescu Alexandru is appointed director general of the Romanian Press Agency AGERPRES. Comrade Ion Rosianu is relieved of the position of chairman of the Department of Cults. Comrade Ion Cumpanasu is appointed chairman of the Department of Cults. Comrade Dumitru Popescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of electric power. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 30 May 84 p 2]

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN MINISTRIES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Comrade Gheorghe Dolgu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Traian Pop is appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Iulian Bituleanu is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Comrade Dumitru Gheorghe is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 45, 2 Jun 84 p 2]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Sirbu is appointed deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 45, 6 Jun 84 p 2]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion B. Popescu is delegated to be chairman of the executive committee of the Giurgiu County People's Council and Comrade Ioan Ungur is delegated to be president of the executive committee of the Mures County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 45, 6 Jun 84 p 2]

PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED ON LIBYAN OFFICIAL'S VISIT

LD261645 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 26 Jun 84

[Embargoed until 1700 GMT]

[Text] Belgrade 26 June (TANJUG)--A statement for the press was issued in Belgrade today in connection with the visit paid to Yugoslavia by the head of Libyan diplomacy. The statement says inter alia that Dr 'ali 'abd as-Salam at-Turayki paid a working and friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs. During his stay in Yugoslavia, the visitor from the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah was received by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council. The statement then adds:

"During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, the identity or closeness of views was displayed on issues under discussion.

"The two sides agreed to continue to work for the consolidation and promotion of their already highly developed and comprehensive bilateral relations, especially in the economic and scientific-technical fields, on the basis of accords reached between the two countries' highest leaderships.

"During the talks, a useful and extensive exchange of views was carried out on the current international situation and hotbeds of crisis, especially on the Near East, the Palestinian question, the Iraq-Iran war, African developments, the situation concerning Chad, the situations in Southern Africa, and the Mediterranean regions, and other questions. The two sides considered the possibilities for a greater involvement of nonaligned countries in the search for solutions to the most acute international problems, and also discussed the position of nonaligned and developing countries and their efforts to speed up their development on the basis of the decisions adopted at the Seventh Non-aligned Summit Conference in New Delhi.

"Dr 'ali 'abd as-Salam at-Turayki, secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison, invited Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to pay an official visit to Libya. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be decided later on."

## CRISIS OF 'STATISM,' OUTLOOK FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 3, Mar 84 pp 374-389

[Article by Zarko Papic]

[Text] The current contradictions and prospects of self-management cannot be understood today out of the context of the socioeconomic antagonisms of the contemporary world. Restricting one's view to the limits of the "domestic scene" poses the problem of self-management's development outside of its historical dimensions, which are universal, puts it in a pragmatic context, localizes it, reduces it to a "model" for the construction of socialism, and places it on the same level with other "models," and so on. Paradoxical as it may sound, the lesser problem is that this reduction has little chance of leading to any sort of resolution of our own urgent problems; the greater problem, it seems to me, is the certainty of the historical morass in which this reduction of self-management ends up. Which is why a different view is a necessity, a view which we will sketch out, which we will offer only in the form of remarks.

## I

The crisis of contemporary capitalism<sup>1</sup> is basically a crisis of the mechanism for "postponement" and "displacement"<sup>2</sup> of the crisis of capitalism (a crisis of the functioning of factors with an "opposite effect" to the declining trend of the rate of profit) whereby capitalism for almost half a century has buffered the shocks of its own contradictions, above all through neocolonialist expansion and radical exploitation of those "sectors" which in the advanced countries are not "centers" for reproduction of the leading capital interests.<sup>3</sup> This is a situation brought about by the efforts of the underdeveloped countries to achieve economic emancipation and in that context to narrow the space for "displacement" of the crisis. Within advanced capitalism this situation is bringing about a process of the restructuring of capital, a crisis in the conventional functions of the "welfare state" and an expansion of transnational forms of the restructuring of capital.

The transnational corporations owe their origin to the need of the large capital interests to free themselves of those forms of the economic role of the state which in altogether concrete terms do not suit them. At this point their development is causing a contradiction between the internationalization

of economic flows and decisionmaking, along with their lack of interest in national interests and economic flows, on the one hand, and the manner in which the economies of the capitalist countries are managed and guided within the national framework on the other. An effort is being made to "alleviate" that contradiction through international economic integrations. The pressure of the transnational corporations in the direction of freeing themselves of the role of the state seems to be growing even within the limits of the advanced capitalist world and is manifested in a tendency toward abandoning the conception of the "welfare state" (the integral economic and social welfare role of the state) through a renewed currency of the doctrine of liberal capitalism and the free market.

Elements of these conceptual maneuvers can especially be found in the policy of the present U.S. administration and the Conservative government in Great Britain. Of course, the structure of contemporary capitalism does not allow any sort of "return" to a free market, nor can there be any question of liberal capitalism. It is a question, then, of a tendency to concentrate capital in transnational frameworks in order to be free of certain functions of the "parent" state, while the "free market" is supposed to give them full independence in this regard. At the same time, the fact that in the United States, for example, the "withering away" of the economic role of the state is going mainly in the direction of reducing its social welfare functions and expenditures, while the policy of accelerated armament also signifies a redistribution of the surplus value to the advantage of the largest capital interest, indicates that profit has apparently been in trouble, that there is a need to find "new" ways of opposing the drop in the rate of profit. At least a part of the confirmation of the thesis that the potential for "displacement" of the crisis has now been exhausted and that it will be exacerbated in the "homelands" of capital appears to lie in the fact that the mechanisms for compensation are being sought within the society of the "center." Support to capital at the expense of the population's social security will not only aggravate social relations, but it indicates that the capitalism of the advanced countries cannot function at the present level of the standard of living of the population of those countries as soon as the possibilities for external inflow of profit begin to be taken away. The matter becomes more serious in view of the fact, which is now becoming evident, that the way in which the standard of living was achieved and the forms of production in capitalism developed on the present-day type of international economic relations which capital developed (for itself), on cheap raw materials and energy, have been seriously "shaken" and that a change in those relations jeopardizes the very way of life and pattern of production in the advanced countries. In that sense we are talking about immediate aspects of the crisis of contemporary capitalism as a civilization.

The restructuring of contemporary capitalism we have referred to also has a very pronounced "internal" dimension.

After the great crisis in the 1930's, when the government role in the economy was introduced, capitalism has mainly been functioning on two levels: at the microlevel of the "firm" which has been operating on the market and at the macrolevel, where the government, by means of the plan, economic policy, and

development policy, has been performing "planning" functions. That "market-plan" system has, of course, varied greatly from country to country, but in the essential aspect--organization of the functioning of the economy at two levels--it has certainly been uniform. It came about not only as a mere response to the crisis, but also as a change which corresponded to the concentration and centralization of capital and production achieved at that time and which facilitated their further development, above all control of the market and guidance of developments. Now the truly fantastic dimensions of the concentration and centralization of capital are calling for a new structure in the functioning of the economy of capitalism and for a shattering of its two-level character.

The point is that now the corporation can itself exercise control over the segment of the market relevant to it and can guide its own development over the long term, that is, take over the planning functions of the capitalist state. The internal traffic of "commodities" is regulated with a varying degree of "detail" by internal relations within the corporation. To that end it is organized in a flexible and decentralized way, with decisionmaking at several levels, so that development goals and strategies, above all in the domain of technological innovation, are the principal integrative factor of the corporations. This kind of corporation is only a way for capital to function and organize itself for maximum "production" of profit in a time of very extensive and dynamic technological progress, a form of economic exploitation of technological development, rather than of mere production. Sketched in the briefest terms, these changes "within" contemporary capitalism are causing a crisis of the "market-plan" model in capitalism.

It seems, then, that the pronounced role of the capitalist state no longer suits the current form of concentration and centralization of capital in the transnational corporations. In its previous forms of development it did need that state as a factor for stabilization of the market and as a factor for support on the international scene. Today capital is well enough organized and strong enough so that it can control the market even within an international framework--through intracorporate relations, and the state, which made its present form possible, is beginning to hinder that form--the transnational corporations--in certain of its essential and classical aspects.

So, consistent with the interests of capital and the class character of the capitalist state, a process of change is being initiated in the character of the role of the state and in the evolution of its structure. The conception of a return to liberal capitalism is only an ideological wrapper, a distortion of the picture of the real process.

That real process of the changes in the role of the state is going in the direction of its adaptation to the transnational corporations, on the one hand, and to the altered international circumstances on the other--while its historical content is an attempt to build new mechanisms for offsetting the declining trend of the rate of profit.

The control of the state over concentrated capital is "withering away" in that context, and this seems to be the other side of the process of the

strengthening of the repressive function of the capitalist state--both with respect to international relations (armament) and with respect to domestic problems.

At the same time, the doctrine of the free market, translated into real possibilities of regulating today's economic flows, basically signifies opposition to the developing countries, which, fighting for the new international economic order, are using their political independence and independence as states to obtain economic emancipation. The free market, then, would retain the existing international economic relations and the dominant role of the transnational corporations in them. At the same time, this is supposed to be the doctrinal basis for doing away with the social welfare functions of the capitalist state.

The crisis of state-ownership socialism has as its main generator the perpetuation and renewal of the patterns of use and reproduction of manpower characteristic of the production of capital,<sup>4</sup> characteristic, that is, of an "alien" mode of production. That contradiction is manifested with respect to the social relation in the economic domain as a lasting and unconquerable tendency toward low efficiency and productivity of production. The social focus of contradictions is "displaced," then, to the domain of the economy's functioning. Two constituent elements of the state-ownership relation lie at the basis of that contradiction.

The first of them concerns the fact that the capitalist mechanism has broken down for setting the social forces of production in motion (private property, appropriation of the surplus value by means of profit, competition and its various organizational forms, and so on), that is, the tendency of capital to beget itself on an ever greater scale.

The second element has to do with the situation in which a historically new mechanism has not been developed in social practice for setting production in motion in the social sense, a mechanism which objectively can be based only on the true emancipation of the working class, that is, on mechanisms which will make it possible for the working people to be the prime mover of the entirety of social reproduction.

The failure to give life to the new prime mover of social production has been accompanied by an attempt to replace the "old" mechanism with a government mechanism and centralistic organization of production. Of course, this cannot yield an appropriate result for the simple reason that no organization (not even a governmental one) can make up the absence of the historically new social force which will carry on social production and set it in motion.

In most of the countries of state-ownership socialism the contradictions have been becoming more severe in their economic manifestational form since the beginning of the 1960's. We are referring to upheavals and crises befalling the state-ownership system including their material development and the factor of the objectively indispensable transmission from extensive to intensive economic activity.

A response to this has been attempted in the economic reforms which were supposed to introduce a certain amount of a more pronounced economic motivation of production and productivity in both workers and enterprises and to give stronger economic incentives to creative effort, research and organizational work (which led to the large differences that exist in social welfare). All of this was accompanied by reorganizations of the apparatus for government management of the economy, and limited decentralizations alternated with renewals of centralization.

It is obvious that these reforms, vacillating and incomplete, had no chance of yielding the anticipated results, above all because they did not get to the foundations of the state-ownership organization of production.

Nor has the limited bolstering of the economic independence of enterprises reproduced any serious socioeconomic changes; it went no further than "modernization" of the functional forms of the state-ownership relation in the direction of certain elementary forms of the "market-plan" model.

It turned out that strengthening the role of the market does not in and of itself stand in the way of the survival of the state-ownership relation without disputing in the least the constructive changes that have occurred in the sense of modernization of the dominant economic role of the state.

The cause here is not the fact that they did not go far enough in affirming the market, but that in strengthening the conventional role of the market, under the conditions of the present-day material productive forces, it was not possible to go further, that under those conditions the market itself is reproducing a strengthening of the state in the economy. In other words, the cause of this lies in the absence of the social changes that would place the market and the state on new foundations.

The present crisis in state-ownership capitalism is in need of more precise delineation in this context. I think a basis can be found for the view that this is a crisis in technocratization of state-ownership capitalism.<sup>5</sup> In other words, this is a crisis in the attempt to use technocratization to "postpone" the crisis of the state-ownership relation itself, without jeopardizing it in its social sense.

Both the crisis of contemporary capitalism and the crisis of state-ownership socialism, without entering into an analysis of all their aspects, are manifested as a crisis of the statist form of social reproduction. In other words, the crisis is opening up the problem of historically new forms of the socialization of production.<sup>6</sup>

Bourgeois society, stated succinctly, developed on the basis of the classic market as a mechanism for linkage of atomized production into social production and for reproduction of capital as a social relation. At the same time, the process of concentration and centralization of capital (begun "in the natural way" on the market) tended to limit the market in various forms, in the interest of capital, of course. That process of capitalistic domination of the market would result in a strengthening of the economic functions of the



state under capitalism and governmentalization of capitalistic social reproduction.

The state's entry onto the scene of the capitalist economy is not, then, a mere "rescue" of capitalism under the conditions of the crisis in the 1930's with means uncharacteristic of it, but a part of the trend toward a restructuring of capital under the conditions of that time.

From the standpoint of the forms of the socialization of production (the forms which make production social in the sense of the production of society as a whole, and not in the sense of socioeconomic relations which would tend toward making production social in character) the essential thing is that the classic market (classic in the sense of the property relations on which it is based), as the material productive forces developed, inevitably "produced" governmentalization as its own integral part, as "another form" of the socialization of production, of the uniform capitalistic mode of production. In that sense the market and the government in the economy are a part of one world, the bourgeois world. They, of course, function in combination, and their character is not determined by their external forms, by the breadth of the "permitted" market or by the degree of decentralization of the statist functions of the state, but by the real relations which reproduce the actual separation of producers from the conditions and results of their work. In that sense we are talking about the classic market and the classic state, regardless of how much their combination with one another alters the manifestational forms of the one or the other.

The current crisis, then, is raising the problem of the domination of this "hybrid model" of the socialization of production, which still is possible in a historically and socially progressive way only outside the horizons of the bourgeois world.

Of course, the leading forces of capital will build their own way out of the crisis, by all appearances, through a policy of tightening technological domination, through new technological breakthroughs whose price will be paid by the moderately developed countries and the underdeveloped countries and which is supposed to "bring back" the relations of domination in a firmer form than those at present. This is the context in which we should understand the restructuring of capital in the direction of a shift of forces to the transnational corporations, which indeed function as a form of the economic exploitation of technological domination.

## II

The first question is the "origin" of statism. It seems to me that in answering that question attempts have been lacking which do not reduce the historical aspect of analysis to a sequence of historical events in which the fact that statism emerges with the first socialist states narrows the critical analysis of statism to socialism, but would direct attention to the totality of things, pursuing the historical birth of statism on its historically native soil of capitalism. Those reductions will go on to find an explanation of statism in reasons having to do with doctrine, in "errors" of Marxist

theory, on the one hand, and in the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary forces in carrying out the socialist revolutions on the other.

It is to this kind of reduction, for example, that Horvat's definition of statism seems to be inclined; for that author it is "in short, a mixture of traditional socialism and the authoritarian state."<sup>7</sup> Truly there is nothing better that can be done with a statism defined in that way than what Horvat attempted to do with it--since statism does not correspond to the "ideals" of socialism, then it is not socialism (which is true), but since it was "born" with socialism, it has no relation to capitalism either (which I still think is not so)--so it should be left to "hover" without its own historical origin as an "independent socioeconomic system." Horvat goes on to shore this up by criticizing the reduction of statism to capitalism or to socialism, but in a way that is not methodologically correct enough, solely on the basis of the statist practice of socialism, in his view that it is incorrect to refer to it as "state capitalism" or to explain it as the "initial level of socialist development."

It seems to me that this is to discuss a problem that at the least has been posed one-sidedly. There is at least one prior question that comes before the question of how statism came about in socialism, and that is how did statism come about in general? The answer to that question cannot avoid an analysis of capitalism's tendency toward statism. Not, of course, mainly in order to give the "ugly face" of socialism its balance in the "damnations" of capitalism, but so that statism is critically examined in its true context as a problem, and that is the socialization of production and the change of its forms, and so as to arrive thereby on the terrain of an effective and practical criticism of statism in socialism, that is, to conquer it.

The reductionism referred to with respect to the domination of statism, except for an abundance of textual testimonies which clearly show that the authors do not have a good opinion of statism, appears unable to offer more than an analysis of the "mixture of socialist and antisocialist features of statism" and of their results, which Horvat has written about. He includes among the first constructive and ergo "socialist" results the development of the productive forces and results in improving the "prosperity of the masses," and among the negative, that is, antisocialist--political repression and police terror, which he writes about in truly plastic terms.

To the question which the previous analysis logically imposes--can the "mixture" be made "more palatable" through a better combination of the "socialist" and antisocialist "features" of statism--Horvat gives a clear answer:

"Statism did not necessarily have to result in Stalinism. Statism is compatible with a far more democratic political system." This is, of course, completely accurate, but from the standpoint of the processes of the socialist revolution and its historical horizons, it is not relevant or, put more precisely, no kind of democratization of statism will "thrust it" onto the emancipative route of socialism.

If we can say of this kind of criticism of statism that it is "marking time," then that does not mean that the reductionism referred to cannot end up differently as to its view of the ways of overcoming statism, which is an important step backward from the "place" where the previous criticism stands.

The point of these remarks, especially concerning the processes of the statization of capitalism, is not only the view that socialism lies on the other side of statism, but also the argument that statism can be overcome only at the economic base of society, in new forms of the socialization of production which will leave the framework of the bourgeois world. We are referring, of course, to self-management, more precisely--to association and linkage in social reproduction.

That is why I find altogether foreign the criticism of D. Lekovic<sup>8</sup> of what he calls "self-management liberalism," which has "legalized the conclusion of compacts and accords" and which in the economy is the "doctrine and practice of socialist commodity production." Which accounts for the disinclination to what the author calls "revolutionary self-management," which among other things is supposed to facilitate the "centralization of the revolutionary forces which is indispensable to overcome the major difficulties of building socialism."

In the context of what we have said I find ineffective those criticisms of statism which do not seize upon the basis of the problem and remain at the level of the "political superstructure" and see the key to overcoming statism in the development of a democracy conceived within the limits of the political system and not in the entirety of the space of the production relation. That is, if democracy is to develop authentically, that process has to be based on the changes referred to at the economic base of society. I do not care, then, for that view which, reducing the topic of statism to socialism, and then reducing its conquest to the "political superstructure" is manifested in such full-blown form in S. Stojanovic.<sup>9</sup>

Stojanovic builds his thesis on separation of the "ruling and dominant class," in which "the ruling class is the one which actually runs the government, completely excludes other classes from that political process and exercises monopoly control over the means of production." By contrast with "government managers," the "bourgeoisie ... may be dominant, but by no means is it the ruling class.... It seems that the bourgeoisie is the first class in history which can be dominant without ruling at all (monopolizing the state). Again in this respect capitalism represents an essentially new type of class society, one which allows for general bourgeois democracy." Of course, this sequence of conclusions has a serious trouble at the moment when the question is asked--How is it that the bourgeoisie is the "dominant class" in capitalism? It logically follows from the text that "general bourgeois democracy" naturally "thrusts it forth" as the "dominant" class, but it, that is, the bourgeoisie, democratically leaves the question of ruling to that same democracy, which is, of course, general. Were that the case, the bourgeoisie truly would not have to be concerned with ruling.

But matters stand differently, the arguments to support this are unfortunately trivial. The bourgeoisie dominates, is "dominant," not because of any mysterious historical circumstances or because of its experience in organizing production, but because government power, that is, the state, at least guarantees and defends the legal aspect of that social position which it has--from the "sacred right of property" all the way to all its modifications under advanced capitalism. It is, then, "dominant" so long as it is "ruling." We are dealing here, of course, with the essence of the thing, and not with the specific features of the forms and mechanisms of mediation. Again, it does not follow that the political power of the bourgeoisie is not subject to the influence of the workers, but that influence is rather the result of the fact that the working class has wrested a part of the "dominance" from the bourgeoisie in society than from the "generality" of bourgeois democracy.

The criticism of this harmony between "general bourgeois" democracy and "the bourgeoisie without political power" can also be broadened.

Is it possible to understand contemporary capitalism if its world dimension is omitted?

Is the American bourgeoisie "dominant," for example, in Hong Kong, where the average hourly wage in the production and assembly of parts of American origin is one-twelfth of that of workers in the same production in the United States, where in 1971 there were 36,000 children working between the ages of 10 and 14,<sup>10</sup> and so on, without any sort of connection to "political power" either at home or abroad?

Of course, the world aspect of the class struggle, which lies at the basis of the answer to the questions above, is least of all liable to interpretation in the way done by A. Stojkovic<sup>11</sup> with his view: "The basic conflict between the two military-political blocs in our time--the Warsaw Pact and the Atlantic Alliance--is in its class basis a conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." It would really be depressing if that were the case.

Another thesis of Stojanovic is equally interesting: "There is no basis for the expectation that goes back to Marx that the working class has the capability of becoming the ruling class ... the workers not only have not become so, but they were never able to become the ruling class."<sup>12</sup> Why? Because, since it is an "economic class" (and a nonowning class in addition), in order to hold political power a portion of it must leave production in order to "rule" in the name of the others.

Now let us look at the internal coherence of Stojanovic's method, taking it for the moment at its face value.

The bourgeoisie, which is also an "economic class" in capitalism, as we have seen, is "dominant," need not rule, and supposedly does not even send its representative "into the government," whereby it is freed, together with capitalism, of bureaucratization.

Why under socialism shouldn't the working class be "dominant" and show an equal indifference to government power and to the sending of its representative to its top levels?

Because, it seems to me, it seems to Stojanovic that the "bourgeoisie" has in history become "dominant" in the natural way (presumably by saving, by contrast with those "squanderers" which did not become bourgeois, a view which even bourgeois economics long ago abandoned as an interpretation of the history of capital), but the working class cannot become that without an "unnatural" move, that is, without a revolution, whereby it comes to "power," and it cannot do that, since it has to produce. So, the workers can neither be the "ruling" nor the "dominant" class, but can only "produce" the bureaucracy.

At the same time why should we not be able to assume in theory that labor might become the basis of "dominance" in society instead of property, so that in that context it might be possible to put the question of whose "dominance," that of the workers or the bourgeoisie, is "more natural"? Ergo, Stojanovic is not consistent even in developing his method.

But the problem, in my opinion, lies in the erroneously constructed basic argument concerning the "dominant" and "ruling" class. The bourgeoisie, as we have seen, is "dominant" since it is the "ruling" class; viewed in historical terms, it first became the "ruling" class through the bourgeois revolution, and thereafter and thereby the "dominant" class.

The working class can become the "dominant" class only by means of becoming the "ruling" class insofar as is indispensable for the property monopoly to begin to "abandon" the position of the determinant of "dominance." Of course, if "mere" power is to be exercised as real social domination of the workers, there have to be radical and historical undertakings in the mode of production itself, there has to be "utopia" in fact, and not just a disposition toward bourgeois democracy.

An unusually "energetic" variant of the view above is advocated by V. Seselj,<sup>13</sup> who does not have even a trace of "mercy" for Marxism, the working class and socialism, which he displays in a method that is certainly outside all theory. Matters are so clear "that the question is put of the historical justifiability of the revolutionary overthrow under the banner of Marxism," presumably because bourgeois democracy has the status of "an irreplaceable means of man's authentic political liberation." I am taking the liberty not to comment on these views, since the socialist revolution cannot make "sense" to that view which finds bourgeois democracy "irreplaceable."

It seems to me that Stojanovic's view must be taken in the context of his abbreviated systematization of the recent phases in Marxism's development.<sup>14</sup> On the one hand are the "new philosophers" with the general thesis that Marxism equals Stalinism, and on the other the "return to the authentic Marx" of the "Marxist humanists" for whom Stalinism has nothing whatsoever to do with Marxism. For Stojanovic the truth lies somewhere in the "middle" and--as Stojanovic puts it--"my reservations about Marxist fundamentalists begin and accumulate" over the problem of Marx's "responsibility" for the Stalinistic interpretation.

Perhaps in this context one can get a better understanding of the quite obvious difference between these arguments about "general bourgeois democracy" and the writings of a somewhat younger Stojanovic, who at one time wrote: "Although it has made a sizable contribution to the treasury of freedom, bourgeois democracy has mainly limited itself to the pluralism of political parties, which has in many respects remained to this day a 'democracy without a people.'"15

The question remains--What has happened in historical practice, especially that of bourgeois democracy, that determined such an obvious turnabout in theory except, of course, the emergence of the "new philosophers," or, in a broader sense, of the "new right"?

In a discussion in Cavtat a few months ago A. Lefebvre said that "in France Marxism has gone out of fashion" and that "the heart of Marxism has been beating and is beating in Yugoslavia." Little reason as we have for doubting his assessment of the position of Marxism in France, in the context of the theses to which he himself turns, his assessment of Marxism in Yugoslavia seems altogether exaggerated. One might rather say that Marxism has suffered a serious heart attack in some of the writings which have appeared here.

This, of course, does not prevent me from thinking that Marxism is not in a crisis with respect to its basis.

### III

What, then--narrowing the question down to the essential problem of the forms of the socialization of production--is the constructive alternative which goes beyond the bourgeois world and on which the main stream in overcoming the problems of Yugoslav society should be based?

In that respect the central question is the question of the new historical form of the operation of the law of value.

The turning point for the development of socialist self-management as a form of overcoming the class society is elimination of the monopoly of ownership from production relations.

It is a question of developing social ownership, which developed as a system of relations among people through their labor and in which labor is the sole basis of appropriations, that is, of participation in distribution of the social product.

In historical terms social ownership also signifies overcoming the division of labor into necessary work and the surplus value of labor in that the direct producers take command over the entirety of the material prerequisites and flows of social reproduction through self-management.

Conscious activity in the basic production units develops through those relations as the "internal characteristic" of labor, as self-management of equal working people by means of self-management planning and through the conclusion of accords and compacts.

These new relations in the basic production cells of society also decisively determine the social character and laws of commodity production in the context of self-management socialism.

It is above all a question of relations which initiate a historically new process of disalienation of labor, in which all labor and its results are under the command of the direct producers. This process simultaneously signifies changes in the historical functions of the law of value and of conscious activity, their "return" to labor as to their birthplace.

The law of value and conscious activity become functions of labor and of its development, and thereby, through the liberation of labor as their common denominator, their mutual contradiction is also superseded.

The relations of socialist self-management, then, are the social foundation of conscious mastery of the law of value. It is above all a question of new relations in the basic production cell of society, through whose development, on the basis of disalienation of labor, the contradiction is overcome at the very "outset" between the law of value and conscious activity. The logic and character of this new "internal" and basic relation between the law of value and conscious activity is later reproduced in all phases and forms of the functioning of a socialist self-managed market economy and self-management planning.

The essential thing, however, is that without those relations within the basic production cells, regardless of the level of development of government planning or other forms of external regulation of economic flows, it is not possible to overcome the contradiction between the law of value and conscious activity.

The key relationship in socialist self-managed commodity production is income. Income is the economic expression of the newly created value, the basic economic motive of production and of the development of production. At the same time, the unity of income comprises its social aspect, it is an expression of the real social power of the working people over the prerequisites, conditions and results of their own work and of distribution according to the results of work; that is, it expresses their labor and the disposition of the resources of society in the same hands, in the hands of the direct producers.

The importance of the unity of income is not limited to the aspect of the development of the social relations of socialist self-management. It is equally great with respect to the reproduction of the new mutual relationship of economic laws on the one hand and conscious activity and planning on the other.

Income is the economic result of the labor of a self-managing collective in the context of the operation of the law of socialist self-management commodity production. The tendency for the working people from different basic organizations of associated labor to exert a conscious and guiding influence on their own mutual flows of income is objectively manifested in that fact--in the fact that income is unified, that the working people dispose of it consistent with self-management, that they can satisfy their material interests



only through a growth of the income of their own organization of associated labor, that there is a movement and siphoning of income through commodity exchange among interdependent organizations of associated labor, that contemporary production objectively tends toward stabilization and long-range harmonization of the economic ties relevant to it, and so on. The economic and social nature of income, then, generates the tendency toward "merger" of the movement of income under the impact of economic laws and their conscious regulation, the tendencies toward the formation of association and linkage in the process of social reproduction. At the same time the behavior of commodity producers in the context of socialist self-management commodity production is motivated by income and its growth. It is precisely the motivation based on income (that is, the market motives of behavior) that objectively brings about the processes of forming linkage and associations of the various collectives of commodity producers, in pursuit of the goal of a growth of their income.

The formation of association and linkage, then, is an absolute economic necessity imposed by socialist self-management commodity production, the result of its objective operation. Through its own economic laws it thereby expresses and accelerates the consolidation of production as a necessity in the development of the new productive forces. The formation of association and linkage is the self-management form of the "concentration and centralization" of production. It is itself, then, an economic law.

The formation of association and linkage differs from other historical forms of "concentration and centralization" of production in that they are not mediated by an ownership monopoly either of capital or of the state. It is a question of opportunities being created in the very process of the socialization of production, which is what the formation of association is, for the direct linkage of producers, which expresses in itself the historically inevitable tendency of socialism to develop in the direction of "associations of free producers." On the other hand, and this is equally essential, association is a flexible and mobile form of "centralization and concentration" of production which, viewed in perspective, opens up broad opportunities for the economic organization of new productive forces. At least insofar as property barriers are not set up against it and insofar as it does not mean centralization of decisionmaking (by contrast with consolidation by means of capital or the state). Association signifies "concentration and centralization" in which the integrity of the entities entering into association is preserved and developed. By contrast with governmental and capital concentration and centralization, here the parts have economic independence, and accordingly the economic laws operate in new historical forms. Economic laws, then, are operative within the process of the formation of association and linkage.

On the one hand this is the result of the fact that association comes about through the functioning of socialist self-managed commodity production, the fact that in specific cases it grows out of market relations among organizations of associated labor and consciously regulates them on a long-range basis. That is why income relations express within themselves both economic laws and conscious activity.



On the other hand, the very nature of association as the self-management form of "concentration and centralization" of production, since it does not contain alienated mediators of concentration, but rather its immediacy and the integrity of the entities, allows for the economic laws to operate within the association itself. Economic laws are by contrast lost when concentration and centralization of production occur through the mediation of capital and the state, since everything is subordinated to the one interest of the monopoly of ownership.

It is not possible, then, to place association on one side and the operation of economic laws and the market on the other under the conditions of socialist self-management.

Under the conditions of the social division of labor and the existence of a plurality of independent self-managing producers, the socialization of production takes place through the mechanisms of the pooling of labor and capital and through the free exchange of labor among self-managers, which are based on a socialist and self-managed commodity economy.

Basic organizations of associated labor, pursuing the logic of social reproduction and its economic flows, pool their labor and capital. Consistent with the objective character of linkage based on income and reproduction, the degree of "association" also varies. The essential thing, however, is that the process of self-management homogenization of social reproduction has been initiated.

The process of association has to do with labor (live labor and past labor) and its development. That is why it presupposes operation of the law of value even when conventional market mechanisms are not concerned, as well as its conscious regulation through self-management. Every concrete process of the pooling of labor and capital must have at its base an objective social need which needs to be satisfied, must follow the criterion of that quantum and quality of labor which society can acknowledge to satisfy that need; that is, it must have the law of value as its basis. At the same time, any pooling of labor and capital also signify the conscious relationship and activity with respect to the concrete aspects of the law of value, not only on the part of the concrete producers, but also on the part of all those whose need is involved and who are to satisfy that need.

That is why the formation of association and linkage are a process of direct democratization of the process of social reproduction, a process of the merging of the "general" and the "particular."<sup>16</sup>

#### IV

Association and linkage in the process of social reproduction contain within themselves the germ for development of a new form of the socialization of production, "within" socialist self-managed commodity production they grow up as its specific law so that association itself will at the same time be the driving force behind its further transformation, the beginning of the process of the development of "associations of free producers."

The answer to the question of why this process is going slowly in our country and involves many deviant forms certainly necessitates a thorough analysis of our own reality. It seems, however, that it is nevertheless possible in this connection to identify the basic problem given here only in outline.

The basic contradiction in our case is between association and linkage, with the characteristics referred to above, and the classic operation of the state in the economy. The problem of the role of the state in our economy seems to have been "clouded over" by its decentralization. With the justified identification of "decentralized statism" as the fundamental "suppressor" of self-management, there now seems to have emerged a new "obfuscation," that which reduces the problem to the more efficient functioning of the government and does not leave the limits of criticism of "the decentralized character." The center of the problem is in statism, not in the concrete form in which it manifests itself in our country today or, in other words, the matter lies in overcoming statism, not in the "successive replacement" of its forms.

The contradiction we are referring to is manifested in the fact that the process of association and linkage is opposed in social practice not only by bureaucracy in various forms and at all levels of the government organization (although this would in fact be a sufficient "suppressor" of association itself), but it also has against it the logic of the functioning of the economic role of the state. It is not just a question of the concrete measures of economic policy, but also of the fact that the "philosophy" of economic policy is based on the assumption that through it the government regulates the conventional flows of the market; that is, it is a question of association and linkage remaining outside the "system" of the real activity of the state in the economy. The consequence of this is that for all practical purposes the possibilities for development of association and linkage are suppressed. Bureaucracy, then, is both the cause and the consequence of this situation.

Overcoming this contradiction is, of course, a paramount social and class issue. Overcoming it requires changes in our economic and political system whose backbone will be a strengthening of the direct influence of the associated workers on the actual activity of the state. From the need, say, when the SFRY Social Plan is being drafted, to open up the possibility for accords among organizations of associated labor in various sectors to be the basis of the plan, rather than exclusively agreements among the republics and provinces as "mediators" of "their own" organizations of associated labor--to the need for stronger integration of self-management decisionmaking in organizations which represent vertical association and linkage (not from the standpoint of derogating the self-management position of basic organizations of associated labor, but from the standpoint of the necessity for self-management decisionmaking to oppose the voluntarism of decentralized bureaucracies with its own integrative character). And so on.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. R. Stajner, "Križa II" [Crisis II], "Privredni pregled," Belgrade, 1980.
2. Z. Vidakovic, "Marks i savremeni svet" [Marx and the Contemporary World], "Partizanska knjiga," Belgrade, 1981.
3. L. Markovic, "Klasna borba i koncepcije razvoja" [The Class Struggle and Conceptions of Development], "Naprijed," Zagreb, 1978.
4. Z. Vidakovic, op. cit., pp 708 and 715.
5. D. Strpic ("The Asiatic Mode of Production," NASE TEME, No 78, 1982) calls attention to the "amalgamation of the capital relation restrained by state socialism and the mature corporate capital relation which is no longer restrained ....," setting this process in relation to the economic reforms in the socialist countries.  
  
"The essential causes of the Polish crisis in the eighties lie in the technocratic approach to solving the crisis situation the country was in in the late sixties" (Dj. Pribicevic, "On Certain Causes of the Polish Crisis," NASE TEME, No 7-8, 1981).
6. Speaking about the "common destiny of contemporary Western capitalist and Eastern state-socialist systems," N. Viskovic says "that in both cases it is a question of the survival and the contradictions of a single bourgeois civilization, i.e., of what is essentially a single crisis of bourgeois society in both of its types which are dominant today" (N. Viskovic, "Conservative Movements in the West in the Seventies," POGLEDI, No 1, 1983).
7. B. Horvat, "Statism--A New Socioeconomic System," a paper delivered at the Eighth Scientific Meeting Devoted to the Topic "Marx and the Present--Contradictions and Prospects," Novi Sad, 9-11 December 1983.
8. D. Lekovic, "Marxism as Revolutionary Socialism," a paper delivered at the Eighth Scientific Meeting Devoted to the Topic "Marx and the Present--Contradictions and Prospects," Novi Sad, 9-11 December 1983.
9. S. Stojanovic, "Marx and the Ideologization of Marxism," a paper delivered at the Eighth Scientific Meeting Devoted to the Topic "Marx and the Present--Contradictions and Prospects," Novi Sad, 9-11 December 1983.
10. M. Vojnovic, "Zemlje u razvoju i transnacionalne korporacije" [The Developing Countries and the Transnational Corporations], "Tanjug," Belgrade, 1979, pp 110-114.
11. A. Stojkovic, "The Unity and/or Struggle of Class Antagonisms--The Law of Social Development," a paper delivered at the Eighth Scientific Meeting Devoted to the Topic "Marx and the Present--Contradictions and Prospects," Novi Sad, 9-11 December 1983.

12. S. Stojanovic, op. cit.
13. V. Seselj, "The Contradictions of Contemporary Socialism--Determinant or Consequence of the Crisis of Marxism," a paper delivered at the Eighth Scientific Meeting Devoted to the Topic "Marx and the Present--Contradictions and Prospects," Novi Sad, 9-11 December 1983.
14. S. Stojanovic, op. cit.
15. S. Stojanovic, "Izmedju ideala i stvarnosti" [Between the Ideals and the Reality], "Prosveta," Belgrade, 1968, p 104.
16. "How is it possible to 'bring together' an entire society, all the individuals, by means of their process of reproduction? This is the cardinal question of socialist democracy. One must understand that the question of self-management in a highly complex society is posed, as well as answered, not only from the perspective of particular units, and, of course, not that of factor units either, but always simultaneously with respect to the total process of reproduction" (R. Bahro, "Alternativa--kritika realnog socijalizma" [The Alternative--A Criticism of Real Socialism], "Globus," Zagreb, 1981, p 372).

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CSO: 2800/364

VOJVODINA LC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE SESSION

Krunic on 'Critics'

LD251429 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 25 Jun 84

[TANJUG headline: "Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 25 June (TANJUG)--With this meeting the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee wishes to draw the attention of the whole Vojvodina LC to the questions raised at the 13th LCY Central Committee session.

It is of particular importance at this juncture that all LC forces concentrate on the mobilization of the working class so that it becomes the force which will carry out the process of stabilization. Big words and statements are no longer needed to achieve this. After the 13th LCY Central Committee session, expectations of the LC membership and working people have become greater. We must take these into account--Bosko Krunic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee emphasized in his introductory report, insisting on broad, open and constructive criticism in action which would correct mistakes and determine sanctions, disregarding the established stands. "Any shortcomings, mistakes, pause or opposing behavior come from an address--from certain people or bodies."

According to Krunic, all difficulties, particularly those in the development of the political system of socialist self-management, encourage the opponents of that system--and they then begin to offer us alternatives, from fundamental changes to anticommunist programs. In the general criticism directed toward the LCY and our system, some groups of "humanists" have become very vociferous. A number of people, among them philosophers, sociologists, economists, writers, painters, doctors, movie and theater directors and publicists, entertain themselves, as an expression of their opposition, with debates, writing and appeals which often assume characteristics of hostile activity. The same people are "qualified" critics of self-management economic relations, the federal structure of our society, the policy of nationality relations, of the policy of theater repertoires, criminal law and procedures, of the history of workers' movement and revolution. As "proponents" of freedom and democratic alternatives, every week they sign some kind of petition directed to the bodies in the country and institutions abroad. The democratic self-management organization of our society, the platform of the Socialist Alliance, delegate bodies--all

these are too narrow for them. They have organized themselves opposite the self-management organization of our society, somewhere on the opposite shore. An opposition political bloc has organized itself and we do not need its founding congress to confirm it.

It is more than obvious, Krunic added, that we are faced with attempts to constitute and impose legally political alternatives to our sociopolitical system as a whole and to its self-management course, and all this under the pretext of the right to free thinking and democratic dialogue. All this was smouldering at some earlier stages, under different names and with different intensity, but it flared up soon after Tito's and Kardelj's deaths. Some people in the country and abroad got the wrong impression that the time had come for political changes in Yugoslavia.

With regard to our ideopolitical activity and organized work it is also important to take this fact into consideration: We have pseudoliberals and nationalists here in the streets and institutions of Vojvodina. There are people in Vojvodina today who act as some kind of agents for the opposition. The LC will expose them: the working people will then judge in the best possible way the goals and gravity of their anti-self-management and antisocialist activities.

Krunic explained that he is laying special stress on this because, besides all the work we have to do, there is also a need now for a well thought-out, practical action for us to explain all these manifestations to the public. It is not right to believe that we have more pressing problems to deal with and that no importance should be attached to these "lovers of freedom" since what they are hoping for is to become stars on the political scene of dissent and opposing alternatives.

#### Matic On Grass Roots Role

LD251627 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 25 Jun 84

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 25 June (TANJUG)--During the discussion at a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, in which about 20 speakers took part, it was stressed that the plenum today was a plenum of action for stabilization.

Vukasin Loncar pointed out that it was high time for ideological differentiation to be launched so that it may become known "who is on what position," who wants to fight and who behaves in an opportunist manner. Instead of being a massive party the League of Communists must become a party of the masses.

Petar Matic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in referring to the stands of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, said that this session is an explicit demand to all Yugoslav communists, and especially the League of Communists leaderships, in the struggle for the development of our system to establish the necessary unity and to overcome everything which destroys this unity. Implicit in this stand is the right and the need to ask the party grass roots and the League of Communists basic organizations to implement this unity and ideological differentiation along the line of what is

self-management and on the line of what history had condemned. Matic stressed that it was time the forum type of work was abandoned and for the League of Communists to go back to the values of the practice and to operate within the class. Municipal leaderships and a section of the leaderships of industrial centers do not sufficiently assert the orientations offering a way out of the present situation. The membership at grass root levels must be involved in shaping League of Communists policy. Our society as a whole is confronting nationalism and other manifestations, but, with honorable exceptions, there is little reaction coming from grass root members. What is not being created is a front of the revolution against the front denying the revolution.

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MIKULIC SPEAKS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

LD041759 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0527 GMT 4 Jul 84

[Excerpts] Sanski Most, 4 July (TANJUG)--Branko Mikulic, a member of the SFRY Presidency, spoke today at a people's rally in Korcanica on Mount Grmec.

[Passage omitted on wartime heroism and suffering] We are aware that socialist, self-managing, sovereign, and equal Bosnia-Hercegovina, like every other one of our republics within the framework of free, socialist, self-managing, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, is a place of permanence and immutability won during the revolution. We shall remain firm and consistent on the road toward the realization of Tito's precept that the borders between the republics "should be like the white veins in a marble column," that they are not and cannot be "borders which divide, but must be borders which join."

This is how Tito spoke about our federal community, asking us to compete in doing what is good, to help one another, because, as Tito said in liberated Zagreb in 1945, new Yugoslavia is a joint home, representing a complete whole, inside which everybody will develop culturally and economically and make decisions on how to do so.

On the eve of the fascist threat, in December 1939, the student youth organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina said the following about this in its proclamation: "Only in an autonomous Bosnia-Hercegovina will neither the Drina nor the Una divide us from brothers of the other side.

The truth which Tito expressed with the following words will also live eternally in our hearts and minds: "Without brotherhood and unity there can be no strong and happy Yugoslavia and without a strong and happy Yugoslavia there can be no strong and happy Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, or Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Today we recall Tito's words and our joint revolutionary achievements because, Mikulic stressed, in recent years there have been certain tendencies to deny the achievements of our revolution and Tito's enormous historical role and his achievement.

During Tito's illness and then after his death more and more obvious attempts began to create a "favorable climate" for this. This was done under the guise of struggle against idolatry, personality cult, denial of the correctness of individual decisions taken during the struggle for national liberation, of the so-called demystification of historical events and personalities and so forth.



This subsequently escalated into the drafting of platforms for the establishment of the so-called "third" Yugoslavia, in which the federation was to be "reshuffled," in which all republics and nations were to be abolished, and socialist self-management and the policy of nonalignment abandoned. Under the cloak of struggle for greater democratic freedoms and for a "free" right to speak there is conceived the desire to destroy the existing socioeconomic and political system, the desire to bring about de-Titoization and de-Kardeljisation, to deny the authority of the working class and its historical role in changing the world. At the same time, propaganda is carried out for the introduction of a multiparty system and for setting up some "democratic society," they say, in which humanist intelligentsia will take over all levels of authority.

With these objectives in mind the bourgeois rightwingers have for years, gradually but persistently, been taking on positions in a section of public information media, publishing houses, on individual public platforms, and in some faculties.

The protagonists of these orientations concentrate mainly on belittling the role of the LCY and on removing from the state the genuine creative forces of our society in all areas of our life, and they do that by very cunning methods: to the very top of the quasi-literary and cultural life and of philosophical sociological and economic discussions they push those [?that] have already become prominent in the so-called "critique of everything that exists,"--that is, everything which is associated with Tito, everything which constitutes achievements of our socialist revolution and the values of socialist self-management and those who in any way "promised" that they will join this.

Unfortunately, we have not always provided a timely assessment of these intentions and taken note of the extent of the danger as a result of crude attacks on Tito's personality and his achievements. On the contrary, in LC ranks some people begin to think that this is allegedly the result of a democratic development of society, that it is "normal" that following the death of a prominent leader a critical assessment should be carried out of his achievement and work and the like, and they forget that the LCY has always spoken openly and critically about all stages of its struggle, and forget to draw a distinction between criticism and antisocialist bourgeois distraction.

On the other hand, state-centralist orientations and etatist tendencies and practice wax strong. To all intents and purposes that is that second alternative to the system of socialist self-management. Our economic difficulties suit the consolidation of etatism and bureaucratism, while inefficiency, hesitation, and resistance to the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization put off the solution of economic programs and hamper the development of socialist self-management relations.

Recently the top political and state organs in the federation discussed the current economic situation in the light of the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. [Passage omitted on recent SFRY Presidency assessment of the economic situation and on continuing the fight against inflation which mainly affects those with low income]

On the matter of abortive investments and the unique philosophy and practice of "building at any price" Mikulic said:

Virtually everyone continually "rounds off" the capacities into some sort of entity for his own benefit, encapsulates himself into his own shell, forms his own business logic and separate policy, isolates himself from others and brings pressure to bear on our society to pass measures in support of such a policy and to please everyone. Alternatively, it is always the others who are responsible for this policy being shown as unsuccessful and for the fact that, ultimately, it fails in quite a number of cases. We all bear the consequences of that, most of all the working people who are employed in the organization not operating at a profit. The time has come to change either the aforementioned philosophy and practice, or the personnel who are the protagonists of that philosophy and practice, and perhaps both the former and the latter. A change is inevitable. Prevarications can no longer be tolerated, said Branko Mikulic.

CSO: 2800/390

LJUBICIC URGES POSITIVE ATTITUDES FROM YOUTH

LD292316 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 29 Jun 84

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 29 June (TANJUG)--In Yugoslavia, it is necessary to fully support those who promote its development, Nikola Ljubicic, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, said here today (Friday) while inspecting Yugoslavia's sports boys and girls.

It is no use competing who will find a heavier word for problems arisen, but one should compete who will bring forward better proposals for their concrete solutions and for ways out of difficulties facing Yugoslavia now, Ljubicic said.

We are used to difficulties. Nobody has given us anything in donation nor we shall ever ask for donations from anybody. We are capable of further building by ourselves such a community as we like it, such as suits our working class and our people, Ljubicic emphasized.

Yugoslavia is a country of equal people, of equal nations and nationalities, in which everybody feels at home, in which everybody is entitled to express his views and his feelings, but this does not mean that allowed can be activity that violates the freedoms of others, such as would hurt the foundations of Yugoslav society, the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution, Ljubicic went on.

The youth always has been in the first ranks of struggle against all those who wanted to stop progress, to break unity, to do harm to Yugoslavia's reputation and strength, he said, emphasizing that the youth will know how to live up to Tito's pledge of safeguarding brotherhood and unity.

Yugoslavia's working people, and its youth in particular, are with reason sensitive to such occurrences and behaviours that stand in our way of getting developed more quickly, of getting more quickly out of difficulties (manifestations of disunity and opportunism, lack of resoluteness and self-will, etc.). They are ready to single out the bearers of negative occurrences, to be concrete in everything, but they demand the same from others, Ljubicic said.

CSO: 2800/390

KOSOVO PRESIDIUM VIEWS PRISTINA UNIVERSITY LC WORK

LD022119 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 2 Jul 84

[Text] Pristina, 2 July (TANJUG)--At a session chaired by Svetislav Dolasevic today the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee considered a report on the Kosovo LC's ideopolitical activity during the past period on the basis of the attitudes and assessments adopted by the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Presidium of the [Pristina] University LC Action Conference in connection with further deepening the process of ideopolitical differentiation.

The Presidium is reported to have judged that this activity has yielded significant political results and that the situation at the university has recently become more stable and more favorable. Above all, this is due to intensified LC activity at the university and constant assistance from and involvement of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in efforts to achieve a positive change at this higher educational institution.

It was noted that the large majority of LC members and organizations at the university fully endorsed the attitudes and assessments adopted by the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Pristina University LC Action Conference and were consistently engaged in further deepening ideopolitical action against every form of antisocialist behavior, behavior directed against self-management, and hostile behavior and in efforts to achieve the complete stabilization of the situation.

However, during these activities there was a manifestation of clear tendencies to behave in an oppositionist and opportunist manner with regard to the LC's clear attitude toward nationalist and other trends that clash with the LCY's line and policy and with regard to the attitudes and assessments adopted by the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Pristina University LC Action Conference.

Behavior of this kind was particularly pronounced in LC basic organizations in the Department of Sociology and Philosophy and to a certain extent in the Department of History and some other environments.

The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee considers it necessary to resolutely and without wavering continue to actively strive to eliminate

opportunist behavior and hesitation and against every form of nationalist manifestation or attempt to divert the LC's action from the fundamental aspects of the further stabilization of the situation at the university and in the province.

The presidium (?welcomes) the LC's efforts at the university and the activities of the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Pristina University LC Action Conference and calls for the further continuation of the action aimed at defeating every form of opposition to the attitudes and assessments adopted by the LC.

CSO: 2800/390

BELOVSKI STRESSES RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

LD041714 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0551 GMT 4 Jul 84

[Excerpts] Stip, 4 July (TANJUG)--Dimce Belovski, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed at the rally in Stip that the formation of the Macedonian Communist Party and the establishment of its first central committee, the manifest of the headquarters of the National Liberation Army and of the Partisan Detachments of Macedonia and, finally, the second AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] which adopted the decision on setting up Macedonia as a national state in the Yugoslav Federation, had a special and crucial influence on the development of the national liberation struggle in Macedonia.

The numerical situation regarding the units of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments in Macedonia, at the time of the final operations to the liberation of Macedonia, Belovski recalled, was about 100,000 men and officers, of whom about 26,000 perished on the battlefield.

The history of the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian people unequivocally speaks of the continuity of the struggle for the implementation of one single target: independence and the formation of its national state. This exceptionally clear concept and vision, Belovski stressed, was accompanied by the simultaneous conviction that the liberation of Macedonia should and must be achieved by the Macedonian people themselves; that it was possible to achieve this solely through arms struggle; and finally, that armed forces and a Macedonian army had to be formed in order to attain these objectives.

Our constant and resolute orientation and interest is to develop relations with neighboring countries further. We are interested in relations of friendship and cooperation, in open borders and free circulation of people, ideas, and of material goods.

The SFRY has a uniform and jointly agreed policy of relations with foreign countries which includes both the interests and the commitments of Yugoslavia toward the sections of our peoples who live in neighboring countries.

The existence of national minorities is a historic reality and the fulfillment of their rights in the countries in which they live should be a positive factor in the development of relations, of trust and friendship between the neighboring peoples.

To ignore the need to take note of existing realities and outstanding problems and also the need to adapt oneself to these realities represents an obstacle and renders difficult the sincere wishes for the development of friendship and cooperation and also for overall relations between the states and peoples.

For the Yugoslav people the application of the "double standard" of behavior toward our country is unacceptable. It is unacceptable that, on the one hand, declarations are constantly made of the wish for good relations with Yugoslavia, when even attempts are made to create the impression that everything is very fine indeed in relations with Yugoslavia, while, on the other hand, the independence of the Macedonian people is denied, the existence of the Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries is denied, or discrimination is practiced against the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which is an constituent and integral part of the SFRY, and territorial aspirations and pretensions are manifest in an unconcealed manner.

The time has come for all Balkan countries and governments to rid themselves of the burdens of the past, to seek a modern approach to existing realities and problems, to make a contribution to the elimination of existing difficulties and obstacles and in so doing to fulfill a joint interest--that the Balkans, freed of all disputes and conflicts, may become an active factor in European and world developments for peace, security, cooperation, and social progress.

CSO: 2800/390

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA DISCUSSES EMERGENCY PLANS

LD292231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 29 Jun 84

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 29 June (TANJUG)--During discussion of the state of plans for emergency situations in the republic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency stated that in some environments not enough attention is being devoted to these plans and that therefore some of them are incomplete and do not proceed from a realistic assessment of the situation. The presidency outlined the immediate tasks devolving upon republican organs and those responsible for drawing up of these plans in organizations of associated labor, local communities, and municipalities. In July these organs should bring up to date all the assessments of the political security situation and speed up and coordinate plans for emergency situations.

According to the information released, the presidency was informed about the way defense preparations are proceeding in those organizations of associated labor that are of special importance for all-people's defense in the republic and about their ability to operate in war situations. It was stated that these organizations have scored notable results in their preparations for all-people's defense.

The presidency adopted a decision on the formation of district command posts of Bosnia-Herzegovina territorial defense as well as the report submitted by the republican and district command posts of territorial defense in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The presidency was also informed about the organizational and cadre situation of the police units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Secretariat for Internal Affairs and their material and technical equipment. It was agreed that a substantial amount of work has been done to train these units professionally and to supply them with technical equipment. This was proved during the 14th Winter Olympics when the units were responsible for security. Taking into consideration the importance of operations and tasks that the units have to carry out, the presidency approved the measures that would help to improve their organization, cadre situation, weapons, equipment, professional training, and performance of their tasks.

CSO: 2800/390



YUGOSLAVIA

CROAT LC COMMISSION DISCUSSES DEFENSE PREPARATIONS

LD051845 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 5 Jul 84

[Text] Zagreb, 5 July (TANJUG)--The Croat LC Central Committee Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection noted today that in the past 2 years a further step forward has been made in developing and strengthening all-people's defense and social self-protection in all parts of the system. Discussing the state of defense preparations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, members of the commission, with Vilim Mulc in the chair, stressed that these preparations have been detailed and comprehensive at all levels of organizational activity.

In the debate, in which France Popit, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection also took part, it was stressed that socialization of defense and protection is also more in evidence in the process of adopting defense preparations plans. In this context it was pointed out that these plans must be coordinated in all self-managing, sociopolitical and delegate organs and organizations. The role and significance of the Socialist Alliance as the broadest front of organized socialist forces in the socialization of defense and protection and in committing the broadest number of working people and citizens to the implementation of these tasks were also stressed.

Members of the commission also stressed the need for a clearer definition of the practical activities of the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection in every environment. So far they have demonstrated exceptionally valuable results in their work, but it was stated in this connection that they should not take on the tasks of other organs. The committees should in fact encourage the participation of all delegate, sociopolitical and self-management organs in the affairs of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

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RESERVE OFFICERS ORGANIZATION MEETS IN BREZOVICA

Welcoming Speech

LD041625 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0510 GMT 4 Jul 84

[TANJUG headline: "Welcome address by Petar Brajovic, president of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Federation of Yugoslav Reserve Officers [SRVSJ] at the 14th SRVSJ Brotherhood and Unity-84 Meeting at Brezovica"]

[Text] Brezovica, 4 July (TANJUG)--Greeting the participants in the Brezovica meeting Petar Brajovic said: We decided to hold these meetings on 4 July, the day when in 1941 the Yugoslav Communist Party led by Comrade Tito, legendary leader and strategist, made the crucial decision to undertake armed struggle and to do so under objectively speaking very unfavorable conditions. Nevertheless, brotherhood and unity were forged during that struggle which enabled us to win a grandiose victory over many occupiers and counterrevolutionary forces. In fact unity and brotherhood were more lethal weapons than enemy tanks, guns and aircraft, showing that no force can subdue a people when it is united and resolved to fight for the great ideals of freedom and justice. No nation or nationality could have won this great victory on its own because it is the sum total of joint efforts. This is an important lesson for present and future generations, and not only for fighting possible aggressors but for daily struggle against all those who are trying to weaken our unity and our constant activity to remove all the shortcomings that are slowing down a faster development of our community.

With these meetings of not only reserve officers but young people, war veterans, members of our armed forces and all working people and citizens, we are looking to our national liberation struggle as an inexhaustible source of inspiration and lesson for new actions and endeavor.

Having recalled that about 1,000 reserve officers who are taking part in the meeting this year stayed in 22 Kosovo municipalities where they were briefed on the 40 years of development of the province, Petar Brajovic went on to say that they saw for themselves that Kosovo has experienced enormous progress and that great efforts are being made for its further all-round development.

The participants in this meeting, Brajovic stressed, are impressed with what they saw and experienced in Kosovo, with its progress in all fields, and also with the cordiality, attention and comradely warmth. Reserve officers from

all parts of our country will leave with their impressions to the environments in which they live and work and in doing so will make a contribution to the further consolidation of the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

#### Hasani Speech

LD041902 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0513 GMT 4 Jul 84

[Excerpts] Brezovica, 4 July (TANJUG)--The participants in the 14th meeting of reserve officers, held this year at Brezovica, were addressed by SFRY Presidency member Sinan Hasani.

This meeting of brotherhood and unity, Hasani said, is particularly symbolic and important in view of the fact that within the ambit of other formal meetings this rally held this year once again marks our great holiday--4 July--the cornerstone of our modern history, the holiday of all our nations and nationalities, the holiday of our revolution. [Passage omitted recalling 1941 fighting]

By being united and acting in harmony we surmounted many often unsurmountable difficulties. We built our country and raised aloft the reputation and name of Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately some people, Hasani went on, are still burdened by the past and live in the time of national renewal or even in some far away middle ages. In some cases they manipulate this past to such an extent as to push aside what history has left us as a lesson and as a warning, neglecting the most essential thing--what makes us rely on each other and what unites us. However, there is no dilemma as we must all be turned not toward the past but through brotherhood and unity and togetherness we must all address ourselves to the present and to the past that we share.

Some people are trying to cast a slur on the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the revolution. Because of nationalistic blindness or enemy obduracy they cannot see or do not wish to see its historic and lofty values--class, freedom, national and generally human values. They do not see that the revolution has ushered in the most brilliant page in our history, the most brilliant page in the life of all our people, all our places and all our nations and nationalities.

Everything we have achieved, and we have achieved a great deal, both here and Kosovo and throughout our country as a whole, has been achieved under the leadership of the LCY led by Comrade Tito. [Passage omitted on the leading role of the LCY]

Everyone must bear full responsibility for his work. At the same time we must settle scores with all idlers, loafers, saboteurs and demagogues.

Taking advantage of the rather acute international relations and of our difficulties and shortcomings the enemy, especially nationalists and supporters of the old regime, are again rearing their heads in places.

In most cases these peoples are nationalists and separatists, anarcho-liberals, Cominformists and members of extremist political emigration. Although in terms of their profiles they are very different, in most cases they are united in their hatred of our country and achievements. However, we are strong enough to settle scores with them. We will not allow their machinations, because their intentions are known to us, although some of them are trying to shelter and camouflage themselves behind slogans of freedom, human rights and democracy.

Freedom in our country is unrestricted for all who wish progress for our country, for all ideas that lead to progress and prosperity, to the promotion of our nonaligned policy, to the further development of self-management, to equality, brotherhood and unity, to everything that rests on the principles of our national liberation struggle and the revolution.

In our areas, both yesterday and today, nationalism is a particularly favorite tool of the enemy.

A few years ago in Kosovo we faced greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism, backed by official Albania, which had inflicted considerable damage on us. However, it should be placed on record that thanks to the LCY, particularly the Kosovo LC and other progressive forces, the situation is now considerably more favorable and is improving daily. The destructive deeply counter-revolutionary meaning of the greater Albania and other similar enemy slogans is being increasingly understood.

It is important, however, that to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins has already been understood to be part of the battle being constantly waged for general stability and for the implementation of full national equality of all who live on this soil.

Greater Albanian nationalism and separatism have been for the most part exposed and have been given their real meaning--that is they are the enemies of self-managing socialist Yugoslavia built with the blood of thousands upon thousands of known and unknown fighters throughout our country. Many organizers of this enemy activity have been identified, and in line with our laws have received the punishment they deserve.

Life and work are proceeding normally in Kosovo.

We want good relations with all our neighbors on the well-known foundations of our foreign policy, Hasani went on. We have intensive and mutually useful cooperation with most of them, we value the results achieved and we wish to develop further. But this does not depend on us alone. The enemy activity by the Enver clique in Tirana toward our country for 36 years is well known. While on one hand they speak of cooperation, on the other they publicly support and encourage Yugoslavia's enemies. They rally all who are against Yugoslavia, even forces that are also against Albania, Sinan Hasani said.

Col Gen Jovicic Represents YPA

LD041643 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0608 GMT 4 Jul 84

[TANJUG headline--"Speech of welcome by Col Gen Georgije Jovicic at 14th Yugoslav Reserve Officers Federation meeting at Brezjeveica"]

[Text] Brezjeveica 4 July (TANJUG)--On behalf of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense and of the LC Organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army, the participants in the meeting were greeted by Col Gen Georgije Jovicic.

The spirit and the idea behind Tito's all-people's defense and social self-protection concept and the present difficult international relations and also the uncertainty concerning their further development and the well-known difficulties in our country, stressed Jovicic, require all organized socialist forces, led by the LC, to fight even more consistently and in an organized manner to implement the program of social and economic stabilization and more resolutely to oppose the activities of the forces trying to slow down and foil the further march of our revolution.

The decision to hold this very important meeting of reserve officers here at Brezjeveica today represents a tribute and support for the organized socialist forces of Kosovo which constitute the basic and the most essential factor of successful, gradual, and persistent political stabilization of the conditions in the province. Despite the delays and difficulties, the results attained so far in the implementation of the political platform for LCY action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood, and unity and togetherness in Kosovo are a significant guarantee that organized socialist forces will successfully carry out the task placed before them by the present historic moment.

Speaking of cooperation between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Yugoslav Reserve Officers Federation, Georgije Jovicic said that joint activities were very fruitful and were based on the unified tasks in the area of preparing and training the invaluable cadres of our society's defense system.

In the course of 1 year, over 20,000 young reserve officers are educated and trained in the Yugoslav People's Army, and at all-people's defense faculties. In this way our social community and all-people's defense system get a new professionally and ideopolitically trained officer cadre every year, said Georgije Jovicic.

CSO: 2800/390

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT--Cairo, 5 July (TANJUG)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak will visit Yugoslavia this summer. Dr Usamah al-Baz, advisor to the president, told foreign and Egyptian newsmen at a press conference today that Husni Mubarak would be meeting Yugoslav leaders on Brioni. [Text] [LD051147 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 5 Jul 84]

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